1: Burrows--18 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 177 Ifalik 1-2

"All three of the domesticated animals common in Pacific islands--dog, hog, and fowl--are present on Ifalik. There are also a few cats. All but the cats are used for food, but they do not make up an important part of the diet. Chickens are the most numerous, yet their flesh remains a delicacy. The eggs, which are very small, are rarely eaten.

Hogs are few. The little pigs are treated as pets, occasionally even suckled by the women. When they grow bigger their feeding seems to be rather haphazard. Indeed, except for coconuts and taro--of which they get the left-overs--there is not much food to spare for them. Some reach a good size, and look well fed. But pork is so highly prized, and meat of any kind so scarce, that they are a constant temptation. There seems to be little prospect of their number increasing greatly.

Dogs are not raised for food, but may be eaten on occasion. During our stay on the island, three were killed because they had bitten human beings. The first was driven into the lagoon and drowned there. The second was reported to have been eaten. Nothing was said about eating the third.

The people tell of rather recent introduction of all three species. In 1909, Sarfert found fowl and two dogs. There were no pigs. He was told that there had been a few cats, but all were lost in the typhoon of 1907.

The appearance of the hogs and chickens seems to bear out the story of recent introduction. The hogs are not long-snouted and razor-backed. Most of them look like

Berkshires. The fowls, too, are not long-legged and gamy, as an old native type might be expected to be. Many of them resemble our standard egg-producing breeds. Others are of less familiar colors, but these might develop from crossing.

The appearance of the dogs, though, is distinctive. All seem to be of the same breed. While there is some variation in size, they do not run to extremes either way. They average about the size of fox-hounds or a little less, but shorter in the barrel. The hind legs seem to be somewhat like those of a chow, --straighter than the form prevalent with us. They are short-haired, with pointed muzzles. The ears are pointed and partly erect, drooping over for about half their length. (One had bat ears.). The tails, feathered with somewhat longer hair, are carried high and curl over the back. In color most of them are black and tan, mainly black, with some tan on chest, belly, paws, face, and about the base of the tail. A minority are white with tan blotches; a very few, white all over."

1: Burrows--18-19 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 136

"The existence of native names, not obviously borrowed, for all three species (gelago, dog; sirō, hog; malȯk, fowl) suggests that knowledge of all these animals may be ancient. One of the songs collected contains a mythical account of the introduction of fowls from heaven. A man named Galuai, carried up there by a huge bird, tied several fowls to his body just before he jumped back to earth. They softened his fall by flapping their wings. But apart from questions of historical accuracy, Galuai came from Yap, and returned there. Moreover, the whole story is so different from anything else collected on Ifalik that it looks like something borrowed from a different culture. [19]

One possibility is that the three domesticated species have indeed been known on Ifalik from ancient times, but have died off, perhaps more than once. A typhoon big enough to wash over the island might wipe out any or all of them. In that case, their re-introduction may well be recent. In the case of the dogs, if re-introduction was from another island, they could still be of an old native breed."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 492, 281 Ifalik

"In the use made of animals, as in so many other respects, the culture of Ifalik is simple and rather narrowly specialized. Animals are used mainly for food. None of the domesticated species is adapted to use as a draught animal or in transportation. The tanning of hides is unknown, and would be of little service anyway, for leather does not keep well in that moist, warm climate."

1: Burrows--83A
116, 231, 152

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Dogs serve mainly as pets and playthings. The play often takes the form of cruel teasing. This may serve as an outlet for pent-up aggression, a matter that belongs in Spiro's analysis of personality."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 301, 227 Ifalik

"A necklace made of dogs' teeth is shown in one of Damm's illustrations. These are not now common; I saw none. About the only part of a domestic animal that is in common use, except for food, is feathers. A rooster's long tail feathers effectively top off a male dancer's head-dress. Tufts of smaller feathers are lashed to fish hooks for a lure. None of these uses of domestic animals involves any noteworthy development of technology."

1: Burrows--110
116, 231, 423

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Domestic animals are, in effect, household property, except that ownership of dogs --or some of them--seems to be more individual. There are perceptible attachments between some dogs and some individual masters. The masters, at least when they are grown men, may feel free to dispose of these dogs without consulting the rest of the household. Tom got his dog in that way, as a gift from a friend on Faraulep. I heard of no gifts of pigs--their scarcity makes that less likely--nor even of chickens, though a cooked chicken may be offered as a gift of food. Ordinarily pigs and chickens are regarded as part of the household supply of food."

1: Burrows--147-149 (1947-48) Woleaians, 1.4
116, 681, 231 Ifalik

"Specific observations on misconduct and its punishment are almost entiely lacking. The only misdemeanors that became public knowledge during our stay on the atoll were committed by four dogs and one madman. None of these cases represents normal relationships among human beings. Such as it is, though, this evidence is of such a valuable kind that it seems advisable to examine it in detail.

The four dogs bit human beings. The penalty for that is death. In three of the cases it was promptly imposed.

Treatment of dogs in general is capricious. They are sometimes fondled, sometimes ignored, sometimes teased in ways that seemed to us cruel. This teasing may furnish one outlet for the aggression which, under the general rule of courtesy, can hardly be discharged overtly against human beings.

In the first case it seemed to us that the dog had ample provocation to [148] bite. Tom, too--whose views may have been affected by exposure to other customs in his travels--grumbled when dog-bites began to assume the proportions of a crime wave. He held that people (boys, I think he said) ought to be made to leave the dogs alone. Otherwise there would soon be no dogs left. A dog is like a man, Tom went on. If it is mistreated, it wants to fight.

The first instance can perhaps be best described by another quotation from the journal:

August 30. The small boys of this neighborhood killed a dog this morning. He was the biggest dog on the island. . .He used to chase all other male dogs away. The last

few days there had been much copulation between him and a bitch. A very noisy business, with yelping and a kind of bawling that he also uses when attacking another male. The yelping comes from the bitch, perhaps only in the painful process of disengaging. With the cruelty toward dogs which we have noticed among the boys, there had been some stone throwing and other teasing along with all this.

This morning our boys told us this dog had bitten a man, so that it drew blood. (Probably the man had asked for it.) The dog came around and hung about us all through breakfast, in hopes; as he often does at mealtime. He was gentle and friendly, as always with us; unlike his mate of the last few days, who is apt to bark at us whenever we go far from our tent.

The boys seem to have passed a death sentence on the dog. Talimeira said to it, in some of his newly acquired English, 'Bimeby you die.' Mel told the dog to stick around with us, and he seemed to get the idea; he did it for a while. He knew the boys were after him. They all had sticks and stones. He took refuge between two canoes in the canoe-house, but there they could hit him with sticks. He ran away, with them in noisy pursuit, and we heard howls and yelps.

Nest thing we saw was the dog swimming out in the lagoon. Uveli went out in a canoe and herded the dog away from shore. I could see his head, far out. . . . More canoes went out later, and apparently kept him from coming ashore.

Toward noon the boys came by. When we asked what had happened to the dog, they

said he drowned in the lagoon.

The nominal owner of this dog had gone to Faraulep. Perhaps that was why the boys took the law in their own hands. They seemed to have a lot of fun. Nobody objected, except ourselves; and we did not try to insist, because our business there was to observe custom, not reform it.

The next time, a dog bit a small boy, I do not know on what provocation. Its owner and other men of the household took it into the woods, killed it, and, we were told, ate it.

The third time, a bitch with pups, that I had previously noticed as extremely irritable, attacked and bit Spiro. This time there was no more provocation than his unusual appearance, as compared with the natives, when he passed near where the animal lived.

Mayhem committed against the foreigner who was the guest of the [149] chiefs, and in some sense a representative of the high authority of the United States, made this nothing less than an international incident. So this time the chiefs took a hand. Wolpetau and WolpaitIk, the chiefs in charge of Falālap, where the offense was committed, went in person and saw to it that the dog was put to death. Everybody, particularly the chiefs, the people of Falālap, and the Americans, were agitated about this for some time; the chiefs and people of Falālap because it seemed to threaten the good feeling that prevailed between them and the Americans; the Americans because, if the wound had become

infected, with no medical aid available and no way to summon it, the danger would have been serious. (Luckily, the wound healed cleanly.) Some time later, when I passed a house platform on Falālap, a woman called to me reassuringly 'No dogs!' Again, when a dog barked at me there, a man in the canoe-house nearby roused from his revery to call it off.

The fourth offense was committed against Maroligar by the dog of his colleague Toromann. He was playing with it and fondling it when it bit his hand. They were in sight of me, and this time I saw no teasing or cruelty. Maroligar, one of the gentlest and most courteous of this courteous people, insisted that the matter be overlooked."

2: Damm et al. --32 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 231 Ifaluk

The only domestic animals that Sarfert saw were hens (mälůk); there were no pigs (sílo). He only found two dogs (gelágu), and all the cats (gadů) except one had been destroyed in the last typhoon.

2: Damm et al. --125 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 231 Aurupik

Hens are the only domestic animal; there were no dogs or pigs. However, the inhabitants seemed to take great delight in tamed animals. Sarfert saw a pair of herons and two sea-swallows which stayed in the boat house and were not disturbed by the islanders; then Hellwig saw another swallow tied in a boat in the midst of some tools.

28: Spiro--7-8 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 231 Ifalik

"The other animals on Ifaluk were introduced by the Japanese. These are the pigs, dogs, and chickens. The pigs are few, and their flesh--they are invariably roasted--is considered a rare delicacy. The hogs are tethered to trees, though the small pigs are allowed to roam in the courtyard, and are looked upon as pets, being freely handled and fondled by the natives, to the point of being suckled at times by the women.

The chickens, too, are scarce, though not as scarce as the hogs. Chickens are allowed to run free, and consequently are not entirely domesticated. It is quite an amusing sight to watch a chicken 'hunt'. A gang of boys will chase a chicken for a considerable length of time with sticks and stones until they finally catch one. Indeed to watch them stalking a chicken, one would think [8] that they were hunting big game. Because of their scarcity chickens are eaten infrequently, though many natives are not particularly fond of them. Eggs are eaten when they are found, and since the natives do not know the chickens' roosting places, they are not found as often as would be desired."

28: Spiro--8
116, 231, 262

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"At present there are only two dogs on Ifaluk, though there were five when we first arrived. The high mortality is a result of a succession of deliberate killings. Children would tease the dogs incessantly, pulling their tails, hitting them, etc.; nor were the adults innocent of such behavior. After exhibiting remarkable patience two of the dogs attacked their tormentors, and were consequently killed. One dog attacked me, for no apparent reason, and the chiefs immediately ordered him killed. In all three cases some of the natives cooked and ate the corpses. Since the two remaining dogs are of opposite sex, it is improbable that the canine population will become extinct."

28: Spiro--103 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 578, 865, 231 Ifalik

"Just as the other children try to distract the adult's attention from the child [WPM: see p. 103, paragraph 1-5.] he is with, so the latter tries to distract his attention from the other children. If, while holding Iliakong, I would turn to give some attention to other children, she would twist her face into mine, laugh and smile at me, put her lips on mine--all to keep my attention exclusively on her. Once, after I deliberately shunned her in favor of the others, she bent down, with her buttocks close to my face, and made a flatulation sound with her mouth--a favorite form of aggressive behavior.

At times, the patterns of aggression interfere with those of cooperation. As we came into a canoe house, a man offered us some taro. Talemelemar took some, and offered a piece to Iliakong, bringing it to her. She placed it on the ground, stood up, and hit him on the head.

Much of the children's aggression, of course, is sublimated in their games, which we shall describe shortly, or is displaced onto dogs. The children, as well as the adults, mistreat the dogs. A three year old was bitten by a dog, but not until he had beaten it for no reason at all with a heavy pole. Uveli, a young lad, held a dog's head on the ground, its ears squeezed together, while the children laughed with great zest. When the dog managed to escape, Uveli kicked it. Children often kick the dogs, pull their tails, and in general maltreat them."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the